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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goatherd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[754] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[209] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[648] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so.

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[1] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[1] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part II, p. 410.

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelming pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambivalence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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776 784 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 751 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil [789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by [788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

793 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block 796 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot 791 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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The sign

788 expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[778] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[789] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

114 lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

114 178 [15] The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

221 [259] The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

196 Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

226 187 [237] All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B] droppings;

droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

764 travel with their *sukrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[775] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
● [709] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.
181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)
529

37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[954] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 609 789 754 755 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic" everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells. For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life, does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 124 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and conversations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/248 cont./

121 842 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with [233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 262 [825] /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 754 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 825 789 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell on this point, for we shall have occasion to come back to it. Finally,

233 825 789 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears [531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/250 cont./

844 602 (114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible] .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (778) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. 842 171 Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: 821 Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος.

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἐμψ. προσώπου σελήνης.

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἀνοδος καὶ κατοχὴ κόρης ».

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
717 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand,
[191] those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional
intelligence.

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[191] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[529] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

529 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

529 233 825 789 [574] [787] solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or disastrous.

[796] The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) $\frac{A}{A}$ where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

529 233 825 789 262 531 [114] On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha, $\frac{A}{A}$, /See p.100--Analyst/

/257 cont./
the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [191] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [191]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: 'Η Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the

233 825 789 777 529

fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

[191]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity; and even

/258 cont./

- in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

796 536 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes [535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] [831] 796 191 536 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

796 789

/260 cont./

against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. [illegible]

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[191] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[182] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

606 609 293 782

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

171

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of
immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions
has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[203] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[182] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh
[823] as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit
testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled
that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
53 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104). It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to
mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif
on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on
the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The
snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal
economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is
agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence
abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental
activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the
Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy
Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, A /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
22

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/265 cont./
them salt (44) and incense. (45)

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Τουρλιανοῦ Μάγειρος: Περὶ Τρέλλας, M.P.G. 6, 667.

A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

46. Ibid., vol. II.

has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others. The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer). Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
792 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
792
411
776
791

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

751

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. 9 and

791

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

[776] [233] [789] head of the animals. (51)

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαογρ. Ἀνακάλυψις; συνέδρια, p. 48, n. 8.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock [783] [233] [789] must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] [392] [823] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 233 789 [372] [823]

/267 cont./

imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[191]

54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. 292 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

796 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 789 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
[824] asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[412] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tasteless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 789 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the [789] mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

/270 cont./

776 must then dispose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[789] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Hoeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

000 751 789 [237] burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.

[825] All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[191] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 88 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΙΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναπλάσεις καὶ Τάξις διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Μ. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 574 789 [822] In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having warding-off properties; (62)

[302] [191] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye: Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ Μ. P. G. 61, 105 et comment. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 684. — Ἐ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θρέψεως, p. 80-88, etc.

/271 cont./

likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. φμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/271 cont./

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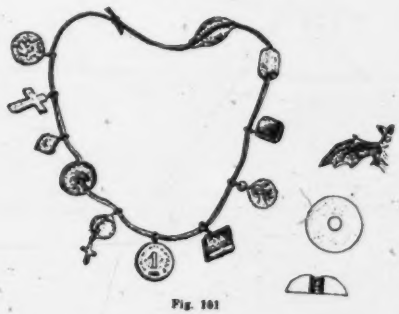

Fig. 161

/272 cont./

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[824]

On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
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65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

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66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Βυζαντινά, Α, σελ.

178 It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
178 First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
785 aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

776 And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[796] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[196] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Περί ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873. one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[184]

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 784 789 784 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must refrain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 784 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations, which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some [791] [554] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 784 562 [831] [833] This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility. Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life. A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited, 233 784 [394] for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. However, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 754 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It [782] seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 104. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [829] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 789 827 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success of someone, or on oneself (80)

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 22, ΘΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Ἐπιθ. VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 755 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention 756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 788 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./
used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
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[114] by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II. Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

(534) 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
(754) migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
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[191] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible], M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

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754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the (793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism (789) against the spells. (86)

(755)

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(751) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate (789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

(825)

789 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

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snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their
(755) harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all
825 can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first
797 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to
789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess Maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the
842 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and
789 rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 789 /281 cont./ itself is also a magic act.

825 789 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [783] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [718] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ημερολόγιον 'Ηπείρου, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us [173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

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(173) according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
(171) magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
(114) vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

(124) In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

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121 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate
789 from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest the-
153 selves.

We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

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121 789 153 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

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121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.
989 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves
153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the
826 case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of
844 the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space of the two components of the magic action.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

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At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

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121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the group in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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121 accentuation and enrichment of certain components of the fact spread by rumor, so that precisely because of this inflation, other components of the same fact are obscured and thus reality is distorted. Finally, 121 according to G. Durandin, "from the moment one knows that a thing was 789 real, one knows all the more that it is possible, and one is led to invent other things of the same type." (102)

102. G. Durandin: Les rumeurs, p. 17. See also p. 25; also his statement that roseate rumors "belong to the domain of magic thinking," p. 18.--Yet this author, by his statement, has merely established a parallelism of motivation which, according to him, is the same in both cases: "the roseate rumor represents the imaginative realization of a desire," he says (p. 18); and he implies that magic is only that. But he does not push his comparisons far enough to arrive at the role that the mechanism of rumor plays in the birth of magical beliefs.

Now, by combining these several assertions on "analogical practices" with the mechanism of the spread of rumors, we succeed in understanding how a fact becomes a model of action, a curative practice, even though it is based on fortuitous relationships and judgments: in each case where one event, occurringin a climate of emotional exaltation, is transmitted from mouth to ear, it goes through successive transformations in which desire and reality are confused, it is crystallized into a coherent account and finally becomes the object of general conviction.

At the end of this process one has helped in the creation of a myth. The conviction that one may obtain a curative effect by the means described, basically constitutes but a myth. It is precisely the mythical character of the conviction in question which prevents the verification of its effectiveness and which produces it. By following this course, man subdues the unknown and in so doing obtains hope and consolation. (103)

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103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "social myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a « paralogisme ». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively (153) conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under

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(153) the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for it its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.
789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

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121 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As
789 for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

> 104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the
[189] [196] Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

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105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

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121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 792 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

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121 789 792 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it
789 aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world
82 based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously,
789 this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the
[153] properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

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121 82 739 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 789 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

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boys against anemia) requires a direct, if not material, contact.

* * * *

The ideas connected with the application of the postulates of the opposition of forces, of the non-self-destruction of forces and of purification, through the medium of practices which they inspire, are the same as the preceding ones.

These are forces evoked in connection with practices aiming at the neutralization of obscure and mysterious threats, and the forces, as we have said, always come from myth: the caul of the child and the log buried at the entrance of the enclosure, symbols of creative forces that neutralize the threats against life. The dogs' excrements and the /weights from/ the spindles of the fairies, worn as amulets, prevent demons and fairies from acting against the child, for the latter has appropriated their properties, and the forces will not act against themselves. Water, like fire or the earth is the source of life, these sources purify whatever is contaminated by evil spirits and remove the latter, for they are the opposites of the latter.

Once again the principle of homogeneity goes into effect, forces neutralizing forces.

The placement into contact obeys the same principle because it is practiced through the medium of symbols, as is fitting when one deals with forces.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the practices of simple removal seem to resist explanation on the basis of the ideas behind the action inspired by the postulates thus far enumerated, since, in order to remove the evil spirits considered as first causes, one has recourse to second causes--malodorous fires, thorns, noises, colors, etc. But this inconsistency is only apparent. Since evils are /301/ represented anthropomorphically, they are acted against as though they were men, second causes, hence through

/301 cont./
121 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner,
789 moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

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121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
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108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

[782] In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

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789 121 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is [781] [794] produced the Sarakatsani is dominated by the feeling that something exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into 789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially, 153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are 789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

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121 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness
789 of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it
789 must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in
788 action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates
789 of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and
811 methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

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121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

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Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. VRAAOL: [illegible]

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

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789
114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

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of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

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with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus, it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. This process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentories of his exploits, his successes, his

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789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 793 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

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789 773 114 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation, a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "Those stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 114 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 773 114 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if confronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

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789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
793 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its (778) efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

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789 798 114 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:

1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 114 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

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789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[191] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127).

[155] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

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789 798 114 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 114 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

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789 114 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion, our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 773 114 798 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature, that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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789 773 114 778 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the principle of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

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"participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One
[124] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our
[825] questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

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789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

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789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space [822] into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill- (823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

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789 82 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 182 761 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices objectively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks [233] [232] contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end salutary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 182 152 154 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

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121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

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121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women (542) includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social (554) roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a (571) standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the <u>richtologos</u> to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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182 554 596 788 families and the Tseligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

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789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

3: Kabbadias--375 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

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representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandiles, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled
grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so
that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as
we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living
is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects
it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided
into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders;
those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these
objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured,
since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small
bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity,
symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining
[887] to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs
symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for
making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles
that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. [illegible]

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

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The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

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796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 811 177 [773] [789] This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

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775 /339 cont../
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of
[602] causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[261] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
(983) distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
(841) term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
(838) have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
(515) those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
[782] disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[779] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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12 prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[197] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and expe-ience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 [178] The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 531 585 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [531] [535] [538] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] 535 [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

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(539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

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The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure., However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

(548)

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182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, 182 812 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 787 155 (189) The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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182 789 755 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 53 789 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art, specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

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The myths

182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
773 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,